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CASE WORK WITH MEN OF

THE UNITED PRISON ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS

A Thesis

submitted by

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CASE WORK WITH MEN OF THE UNITED PRISON ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The United Prison Association of Massachusetts is a social agency organized to study and assist in the problems of the prisoner and ex-prisoner in Massachusetts. Its interest includes service to offenders anywhere in the Commonwealth, study of the problems of the prisoner from all angles, and promotion of better policies and procedures relating to the offender in this state.

Specifically it is stated in the Charter of the United Prison Association[1] that it is organized:

> to assist persons accused or convicted of crime, serving sentence, on parole, or discharged, and juveniles alleged or adjudged to be delinquent, in overcoming the social and industrial handicaps imposed upon them, and to help them to reestablish themselves as reputable citizens and to lead honest and useful lives. These general objectives may be accomplished in one or more of the following ways: (a) By furnishing advice and encouragement. (b) By obtaining employment. (c) By giving pecuniary aid when necessary and advisable. (d) By the assistance and preservation of families. (e) By encouraging the improvement of correctional methods and conditions. (f) By encouraging the better enforcement and administration of laws relating to the purposes and objects of this corporation. (g) By education and enlightenment of employers and of the public generally with regard to their attitude toward discharged prisoners. (h) By contributing, if thought advisable, all or any part of the income of the corporation to any other charitable organization or organizations in furtherance of the foregoing objects or any of them. (i) or by any other method deemed appropriate by the directors.

This agency carries on a very effective program with discharged

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1 United Prison Association of Massachusetts, Charter from Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1940.

women prisoners from the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women at Framingham, but that work is quite separate from the work with men administered from the office in Boston. The Association is interested in everything that concerns the prisoner and exprisoner; it has taken the lead in working for better laws and procedures dealing with crime and the criminal. The agency aims also to do field work in prison visitation, as yet not far developed. The research, educational, promotional and visitation work of the agency are distinct functions that will not be considered in this thesis.

The United Prison Association of Massachusetts is the only agency in Massachusetts specializing in social case work with discharged prisoners. It is the purpose of this thesis to consider that part of the work of this Association dealing with men released from incarceration. This thesis is limited to this work with men as carried on from the agency headquarters at 51 Cornhill, Boston.

The United Prison Association has been referred to as an impersonal organization. It is, of course, really the agency framework through which individuals work. Its success and its work are only those which the individuals in the organization achieve. Henry J. Mascarello, executive secretary; Herbert E. Kunde, assistant secretary; and Alvah L. McMullan are trained and specialized workers. They, with the assistance of numerous other paid and unpaid interested workers in the Association, have created the present United Prison Association. Their cooperation has been invaluable in this research study. Their interest indicates their vision in seeking to improve the effectiveness of the agency.

Before January 1, 1940, there were several agencies in the field of work with prisoners. On that date, following a study made by the

Boston Council of Social Agencies,[2] the United Prison Association of Massachusetts was organized and began to function, combining the work of the John Howard Society, Massachusetts Prison Association, and Friends of Prisoners, Inc., the agency working at the Reformatory for Women. In addition the United Prison Association inherited that part of the work of the Industrial Aid Society which served exprisoners. The new Association has, therefore, only a brief history as such; it cannot be studied historically, nor is there a long accumulation of experience by which to judge its efforts.

The justification for work with prisoners is often questioned. Why spend effort on convicted criminals when the law-abiding community and respectable citizens need so much? The answer is that 96 per cent of all those imprisoned in the United States, according to Albert Morris,[3] are later released into the community. Unless the penal system is radically changed there will continue to be some 360,000 prisoners emitted each year. They will certainly be a threat to society if an organized effort is not made to help them get adjusted into the community.

The work of a prisoners' agency is impeded by the emotional attitude toward prisoners that is so common. There are, on the one hand, those who, motivated by ignorance, prejudice and fear, cry for vengeance, punishment and punitive discrimination against all malefactors, in self righteous indignation. On the other hand, are the sentimentalists who

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2 Boston Council of Social Agencies, Bureau of Research and Studies, Resources in Boston for Aiding Discharged Prisoners. March 1938.

3 Albert Morris, Criminology (New York: Longmans, Green and Co.,1934), p. 381

would dramatize and coddle the exprisoner as an innocent victim of unjust society, handing out alms to humiliate and pauperize him, in an effort to salve their own feelings. The modern prison agency with its constructive program, finds itself between these two groups, suspected by both. It seeks to tap the altruistic elements and emotional appeal of both groups, diverting and organizing them for a more intelligent approach to positive aid for discharged prisoners as part of the community effort for social welfare.

The fact must be granted that some of the discharged prisoners are criminals who have no intention of reforming, either because of constitutional makeup or because of confirmed criminal habits and the high returns from professional crime. Those men, whatever the cause of their condition or attitude, are a menace to society; their restraint is the responsibility of the law enforcing agencies.

The majority of released men, however, are found to be anxious to avoid further trouble, and every practical effort should be made to help them, not from any sentimental motives toward the offender, but to protect the community from the danger and expense of more crime and imprisonment (at public expense) for the offender.

When a convict emerges from imprisonment and the gate slams behind him, he finds himself usually in a prison-made suit which he feels stigmatizes him as a convict to the community. If released from prison he may have a little earned money, but if he comes from a house of correction, he is unlikely to have either proper clothes or any money. Even if he has a job and a room upon release, the job is often temporary, while his five dollars (he has if released from the Reformatory) does not provide much in the way of meals, lodging, clothing and carfare.

While incarcerated, he loses contact with most of his friends and relatives, either from choice or circumstances. When discharged he tends to recoil from asking their help, even if they would be willing to give it. If he is not to be dependent upon his criminal acquaintances for help and be forced back into antisocial activities in order to live, a prisoner must usually have some friendly help upon release to enable him to orient himself and get reestablished. Often it is necessary to continue to help him, off and on, for some time. The United Prison Association was organized to meet this need of released prisoners for help.

It is not to be implied that there are no other agencies to help prisoners. Their work is referred to later in connection with particular aspects of prison work, especially in Chapters VII and VIII. Those other agencies, however, either work only incidentally with prisoners or only in giving relief. It was the need for a unified agency to do specialized social case work with exprisoners that primarily led to the forming of the United Prison Association of Massachusetts.

It should not be implied either, that the Association assumes that social case work is the answer to all the problems of prisoners. The Association is effectively promoting better laws and administration of law in this field, and is interested in cooperative research in the areas of penology and the cause and prevention of crime as well as in the more palliative aspect of rehabilitation of criminals. It recognizes the long range importance of educating the public in the problems of crime and the criminal. But its present effort is centered upon case work, with relief as a valuable tool, as one effective means for crime control for the public welfare.

This thesis purposes to study the case work of the United Prison Association to learn what sort of men the agency serves, what their needs are, how it meets those needs, and how the agency might better serve its clients.

CHAPTER II

PLAN OF THE STUDY

This study of the United Prison Association is based upon consideration of cases served by the agency in the year 1940. While of course the validity of the conclusions drawn from only one year's experience may be questioned, the project should be valuable nevertheless in illuminating the problems of the discharged prisoner and in suggesting how his problems may be better met.

Limitations of time prevent detailed study of all the cases served during the year. From the annual report of the society[1] we learn that :

> during 1940, 3794 clients and interested persons were interviewed. Approximately 1,500 discharged male prisoners, with a multiplicity of problems, were assisted as follows: One third of the number needed only advice and steering to other agencies which could better care for their needs. This was done with a minimum expenditure of time and effort. Another one third of these applicants were classed as "minor cases," a group for which the Association assumed only incidental responsibility - frequently involving no cash outlay, but requiring considerable time and effort in the solution of personal problems. The remaining 490 constituted the "major cases."

As the real case work of the agency with men was limited to these 490 cases, this survey is concerned only with them. Actually of these 490 cases the United Prison Association inherited 78 from the John Howard Society, which were excluded also from this project, because in these 78 cases there was little information available concerning how they were selected and how treated. Moreover the focus of this study is primarily on the current situation of the men served and on how the United

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1 United Prison Association of Massachusetts, First Annual Report, For the Year Ending December 31, 1940. p. 1.

Prison Association as now organized functions. The 412 new "major cases" with men served by the society in 1940 are therefore the basis of this research project.

Limitations of time prevented detailed consideration of all these 412 cases. Accordingly it was determined to take a random sampling of 60 from the total 412 cases for investigation. Upon the study of these 60 men, taken as a representative sampling, the conclusions of this thesis are based.

No case studies will be attempted as it is not the purpose of this thesis to understand individual cases. Rather, the data from the 60 cases are used to understand better the clientele of the agency, its needs, and how they may be better met.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to go into the legal, police, judicial, penal or parole systems except insofar as may be necessary for an understanding of the work with prisoners. Surely the understanding of the offender's attitude toward the legal system that enmeshed him, the police system that apprehended him, the judicial system that tried him, the penal system that punished him and the parole system that finally released him is essential in trying to help the man. Without some comprehension of the impact of the blind consistency and blundering inconsistency of all this governmental machinery on the offender, the observer cannot realize how baffled, resentful and thwarted the prisoner may feel.

However much the problem of the discharged prisoner is affected by his experiences, the focus of interest of an agency dealing with the exprisoner looks forward to what can be done in the future with him, accepting the past as irrevocable. This thesis will, therefore, not take up any

problems of law enforcement or penology except as they are directly involved in understanding the cases of exprisoners.

This study does not assume to be a survey of exprisoners in general, nor of a mythical typical discharged prisoner. It does not purport to describe criminals in general. It is only intended to be a study of the offenders accepted for service by the United Prison Association in 1940. It is believed that the 60 cases do fairly represent all the cases of the agency for that year; as such it is hoped that it may shed some light on the problems of exprisoners in general.

Any consideration of criminology demonstrates clearly that only a very small proportion of crimes or criminals are detected or punished. That that is true of even the most serious offenses is indicated by the notoriously small number of convictions in homicide cases. The proportion of convictions for minor offenses compared with the number of offenses must obviously be very small. If only so small a percentage of our crimes are detected or punished, obviously it cannot be assumed that our prisoners are a fair representation of our criminals. They are merely the small number who, for various reasons, were detected, prosecuted, imprisoned and released out of the vastly greater number of offenders who avoided this.

Then too, the clients of the United Prison Association are a group selected from all discharged prisoners, and therefore not representative of all discharged offenders. The service of this agency is limited first of all to those men who apply to it. No effort is made, of course, to seek clients. As a rule those prisoners who regard release as just an opportunity to return to a profession of crime do not want to enter any prison agency. The offenders who have strong family attachments, with a

home to go to, or relatives to back them, less frequently feel the need of a prison agency than do the homeless and friendless men.

Of those men who would come to a prison agency, the Association for various reasons accepts some for case work and refuses to accept others. This policy of selection is based, not upon whim, prejudice, or "hunch" but follows consistent principles. Cases are not accepted in general if already under the care of another competent agency. Those who have had only a minor conflict with the law are usually referred to another agency also.

In general the United Prison Association works with those whose conflict with the law is an important factor in their need for social case work. Application of this principle is in practise rather elastic. An offense that is a vitally dominant factor in one man's problem, may be a negligible factor in another man's situation.

There is one further principle that limits the selection of cases served by the United Prison Association. The agency accepts only those cases that it can be expected to help, or that it is more likely to be able to help than other agencies. This is no negative policy; it follows the principle of specialization in social work that is giving the community better coordinated, more effective social service.

The United Prison Association does not accept alcoholics. This policy is not derived from prejudice or sentiment or any judgmental reaction, but rather from the conviction that the agency cannot usually help alcoholics. Drunkenness is not only a serious problem but it is an increasingly pressing one. Drunks form the largest single group of offenders against the law; drunkenness is doubtless the most frequent crime. The drunk cases divert the police from attention to more serious crime and clutter up

the courts and jails, while with other types of offenders, alcohol and drunkenness aggravate the problems. Official reports show that of 13,476 men committed to houses of correction or jails in Massachusetts in 1939, there were 8,146, or 60 per cent, for drunkenness.[2]

Alcoholics are usually not accepted by the United Prison Association for the sufficient reason that as yet social service agencies have found no adequate treatment that is reasonably successful in treating the alcohol addict. The agency has not even any related agencies to whom alcoholics may be hopefully referred. It can only regard them as sufferers from a malady or weakness for which usually there is no ready cure. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the report of the Pardon and Parole Commission of Massachusetts recently issued, it was recommended that release of alcoholics be transferred from the Parole Commission to the Commissioner of Correction as being essentially different from the problems of other criminals.[3]

A record of drunkenness does not necessarily prevent individuals from being accepted by the agency. Actually forty-five per cent have been convicted of drunkenness,[4] but in those cases the drunkenness is considered to be only incidental to the situation and symptomatic of the fundamental maladjustment, rather than itself the primary problem.

The United Prison Association like any social agency exists to help a certain limited group of people adopted as its particular responsibility. To assume this responsibility implies an obligation and mission

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2 The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Correction For the Year Ending December 31, 1939, p. 90.

3 The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Final Report of the Pardon and Parole Commission. House 1,000, Boston, December, 1940. p. 185.

4 Cf. Table IX, p. 40 .

to specialize in that particular field in which this agency is uniquely qualified or equipped and where it attains better than ordinary success. For an agency to accept treatment, except in emergency, of those whom it is not likely to be able to help would be as unethical as for a physician to undertake to treat those he is not qualified to treat. Alcoholics are regarded not so much as social work or criminal cases as they are medical or mental cases. There is not much that a prison agency can do to help them.

Thus it is seen that the clientele of the United Prison Association, far from being a cross section of all criminals, or even of all prisoners, is in reality only a large selection of cases from all the prisoners released in Massachusetts. It is made up of those who want the United Prison Association to help them and whom the agency undertakes to serve because it believes it can better do so than other agencies.

CHAPTER III

PLAN OF INVESTIGATION

The data are gathered from new cases of the United Prison Association in 1940. Certain facts were known about all the major cases served by the agency in that year. For more complete data only sixty of the 412 cases opened by the agency in that year were used. It does not include any of those cases inherited from predecessor agencies and it is not assumed to represent any of those cases.

The first five cases accepted by the agency in each month of that year were taken to be used for this project. The cases were taken equally from each month to minimize the effect of any possible seasonal factors that might warp the results. For instance a certain type of transient might tend to winter in the south and in summer apply here for aid. It was intended also by this method to eliminate the effect of any special types that might have come to the agency more in the first few months than after it was established. The men coming the earlier months, however, offered the advantage of a longer history with the agency than those of the later months. There was no special significance in choosing the first five cases in the month, rather than any other arbitrary random selection.

The assumption that these 60 cases are reasonably representative of the 412 new major cases of the agency is confirmed by the close correlation of the 60 with the 412 cases in three factors for which there is corresponding data in both groups as seen in the following:

TABLE I

MARRIAGE STATUS OF 60 SELECTED CASES AND OF TOTAL 412 CASES

In Per Cent

Marriage Status	Sample	Total Cases
Single	55.0	53.5
Widowed	3.3	4.1
Divorced	8.3	10.5
Separated	21.7	20.5
Married	11.7	11.4
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE II

COLOR OF 60 SELECTED CASES AND OF TOTAL CASES

In Per Cent

Color	Sample	Total
White	90.0	90.0
Negro	10.0	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE III

AGE GROUPS OF 60 SELECTED CASES AND OF TOTAL CASES

In Per Cent

Ages	Sample	Total
20 and under	6.7	4.3
21-30	46.7	34.3
31-40	20.0	37.2
41-50	18.3	18.6
Over 50	8.3	5.6
Total	100.0	100.0

In the comparison of age groups in Table III it will be observed that the correlation is not so close in the 21-30 and 31-40 age groups as are the other correlations of Tables I, II, III. The small proportion of the 60 cases between 31 and 40 as compared with the 21-30 group is further analyzed with Table V. It probably is not quite representative and is a coincidence showing that the results in using 60 cases, while representative, are not always entirely accurate.

Thus chosen, the cases were listed numerically according to the chronological case record number of the agency. The listing was on columnar sheets to facilitate tabulation of data and observation of correlations between different factors.

The data sought included any items available that might illustrate the types of men served, their experience in crime and incarceration, how they came to the agency, and what service was given them. Much data that would have been significant was unavailable, while some data listed seemed to have little statistical use for this project.

Data was sought and tabulated on the following items:

1. Address
2. Citizen or alien
3. Nationality
4. Race
5. Religion
6. Age
7. Marriage status
8. Number of children
9. Parents and home background

10. Siblings

11. Health

12. Mentality

13. Educational achievement

14. Occupation

15. Age of first offense

16. Nature of first offense

17. Type of first offense

18. Disposition of first offense

19. Principal crime committed

20. Principal crime

21. Type of principal crime

22. Number of each type of crimes committed
    a. Acquisitive
    b. Homicidal
    c. Sexual
    d. Public
    e. Drunkenness
    f. Narcotic

23. Types of institutions where imprisoned
    a. Lyman School
    b. Industrial School at Shirley
    c. County Training Schools
    d. Jail
    e. Houses of correction
    f. Massachusetts Reformatory
    g. State Prison
    h. U. S. penitentiaries
    i. Institutions in other states
    j. State Farm

24. Total time served

25. Type of offender (habitual, professional, occasional)

26. Official supervision (probation, parole)

27. Source of referral of client to agency

28. Period between release and application to agency

29. Types of service given:
    a. Food
    b. Lodging
    c. Clothing
    d. Employment
    e. Service
    f. Referral to other agency

30. Recidivism after contact with agency

31. Number of Social Service Index contacts

32. Number of Social Service Index contacts of relatives

The case records of the United Prison Association were the source of most of the information secured. In the case records were included with the narrative record of the contacts, the face sheet, the referral identification slip from the Central Application Bureau for Homeless and Transient Men, the photostat of the Social Service Index listing all social service contacts of the man and his relatives, the photostat of the Massachusetts Board of Probation record (listing all court records in this state), the state or United States criminal record summary, and other correspondence and material in the case folders.

Not all this material was available in each instance. There were no face sheets for many of the cases begun early in the year as the agency did not begin to use face sheets until late in the year. This lack of face sheets not only made it necessary to try to cull the items of data from the running record; it also resulted in missing many facts essential to the investigator.

The Association has a "statistical card" for each case from which it compiles its statistics of certain pertinent data. It was decided to disregard these cards and ascertain the information from the original

sources as more reliable and more definite.

As the records lacked much information sought for this study, these were supplemented by the records of the Central Application Bureau and Industrial Aid Society for all cases with records, at either of these agencies. The records of many of the individuals were also consulted at the Massachusetts Department of Correction, the United States Probation office, Travelers Aid Society, Morgan Memorial and Charles Hayden Goodwill Inn, especially when the United Prison Association record was obviously incomplete. Wherever it seemed possible that there might be an out-of-state record, a report of such convictions was secured from the Bureau of Criminal Identification of the Department of Public Safety.

A casual examination of the case records reveals how little is really known about these men. A man comes into the office, explaining, perhaps, that he needs a place to sleep, something to eat, and help in finding a job, as he has no relatives to help him and he has no funds from his recent imprisonment. Routinely he is registered with the Central Application Bureau and Social Service Index to establish his identity and find out what is known about him, if anything, by other agencies. The framework of his situation is put together from this information and his own story. The outline of his conflict with the law is itemized in the photostat of his complete court record in this state secured from the Massachusetts Board of Probation. If he has an out-of-state record that may be secured from the Bureau of Criminal identification of the Massachusetts Department of Public Safety.

The client realizes that his story is checked, but, of course, he does not know how far it is checked. He usually fails to see the need

of the agency's having even this minimum of information about him. His mind is on his present obvious urgent need. If he is only given temporary relief, he does not expect to require anything more. His prison experience has taught him distrust of everybody; he resents being questioned about his personal affairs (although policy may prevent his showing it). Whether he expresses his feelings or not, unless his spirit is entirely broken, he is likely to object to the implied demand to tell about himself in order to get the relief, which is the only need which he recognizes.

In such a situation, the case worker usually gets the data required for temporary present treatment, establishes a working relationship, and does not attempt to probe deeply into the man's early life, or to learn the constitutional or environmental factors that have brought about the client's present condition.

As a majority of the clients do not continue as long time contacts, it may well be urged that the United Prison Association would not be justified in seeking additional information as background and basis for its case work, considering the time and expense involved. These data are necessary, however, for any real understanding of the underlying problems of the clients, whether considered individually or statistically.

In this research study limitations of time and absence of the clients prevented making case studies to fill in this background data. The information from the United Prison Association case records has been supplemented with such material as could be secured from the cooperating agencies mentioned above. Even with this supplementing material, the data concerning the agencies' clients is inadequate for a comprehensive understanding of the factors involved in their delinquency.

The work of the United Prison Association with its clients is conditioned by the types of men with whom it works. An agency cannot expect much success in trying to adjust into normal independent community relationships men who are feeble minded, psychopathic, chronic invalids, or illiterate, if, in fact, its clients are such. Are the men who apply to the United Prison Association merely in need of a handout or of a job to reestablish them permanently in the community? In appraising the work of the Association it is vital to know what sort of men are its raw material. The success of its work depends largely upon its having adequate information about its clients, lack of which may limit the effectiveness of any case work.

The next section of this study in Chapter IV summarizes the data obtained with regard to the sort of men comprising the 60 selected cases.

There follows in Chapter V a study of the delinquency of these men, with classification of crimes committed, the different types of offenses, the first offenses, and the patterns of criminality.

Chapter VI discusses the imprisonment of the men, the length of time served, the types of institutions and the patterns of progress from one institution to another.

With a knowledge of the types of men, their offenses and imprisonment as background, the thesis considers the service of the United Prison Association to these clients in Chapter VII.

The last chapter is a summary of the thesis, with conclusions.

CHAPTER IV

TYPES OF MEN AMONG CLIENTS

Before the criminal and penal record of the clients is considered, it is interesting to discover what sort of men these 60 clients are. The data tabulated, while only statistical, give valuable insight into this question.

Residence. Tabulation of the place of residence of each of the 60 cases of this study indicates that they come almost equally, one-third from Boston, one-third from Metropolitan Boston outside the city limits, and one-third from outside Metropolitan Boston. Of this outside third, half are from Massachusetts and half from outside Massachusetts. The figures are shown in the following:

TABLE IV

RESIDENCE OF MEN

Area	No. of men	Per Cent
Boston,(City of)	23	38
Metropolitan Boston (outside city limits)	23	38
Massachusetts(outside Metropolitan Boston)	7	12
Other States	7	12
Total	60	100

Deciding the residence of these men is not easy nor simple. They are largely men without home ties; during their imprisonment they have lost their local connections. To avoid the arm of the law and to avoid humiliation and embarrassment to themselves and relatives, many of them have used

aliases and false addresses, skipping about elusively, with no fixed local abode to hamper them.

Without adopting any hard and fast rule or technical definition of residence, the writer adopted the policy of holding a man's residence to be the place which he now considers his more permanent abode. His legal settlement, his voting address, his mail address, his relatives' address, the length of his stay in Boston, and the history of his repeated return to any particular place, all were given weight in determining residence. At best the question of residence is confusing where many of the men involved are drifters, really having no permanent address at all. It seems significant that only one-third of the cases are Boston men, even when there were included those who settled in Boston but came from outside.

It is notable that 12 per cent of the men are definitely out-of-state men, while many of the others have come from other states. That crime and the criminal are not merely local problems or responsibilities is shown by these figures, confirmed later in Table XII where 28 per cent of the 60 men are found to have served time in penal institutions outside Massachusetts.

Nationality and Race. The idea that a great deal of our crime is due to foreigners is not borne out by the cases studied. Of the 60 cases, one is a citizen of Newfoundland, while an Italian's citizenship is in doubt. All others are citizens.

While there is no actual information available to prove it, the large proportion of children of recent immigrations in the group is suggested by the names of the clients and their case records, although the case records do not give nationality. Among the foreign nationalities recognized by

names were 17 Irish, 3 Italian, 3 French-Canadian, and one each, Polish, Lithuanian, Portuguese, besides 6 Negroes. These may be considered to represent the racial components of the community proportionately.

That there are no Jews in the group is not so remarkable when it is recalled that the Jewish philanthropies usually handle Jewish cases.

The proportion of Negroes is very much higher than their proportion of the general population, which in Massachusetts is about 1.2 according to the 1930 census.[1] Such disproportionate representation might be expected as the result of the Negroes' greater frustrations of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, overcrowding, and race discrimination.

Religion. The United Prison Association does not usually ask a client about his religion. It has been mentioned that the agency receives few Jews; the Catholic Charitable Bureau does not help unmarried men; there seem to be few cases, therefore, where religion makes much difference in treatment. This information, however, is recorded in the registration of the Central Application Bureau as part of the identification, and was available from that source in most instances.

Of the 56 cases where the religion is known, 37 are Roman Catholic and 17 are Protestant. This division may represent about the proportion of Catholic and Protestant in the general population of Boston.[2]

Age. In age the 60 men studied ran from 20 to 63, but more than half were between 20 and 30 years old. While the average age was found to

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1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States, Washington: 1933. p. 244.

2. Cf. Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934. p. 67.

be 33, the median age is 30. The number of men in the different age groups is shown in the following table:

TABLE V

AGES OF MEN

Age Group	No. of men	Per Cent
20 and under	4	7
21-25	14	23
26-30	14	23
31-35	5	8
36-40	7	12
41-45	8	13
46-50	3	5
61-60	4	7
63	1	2
Total	60	100

That there are three times as many men in the 21-25 group and in the 26-30 group as in the 31-35 group demonstrates that a large proportion of our criminals are in the age groups below 30. That ratio implies that many men who are offenders before 30 are diverted from criminal careers as they reach maturity.

With the men above 30, there is an increase from eight per cent in the 31-35 group to 12 per cent in the 36-40 group and 13 per cent in the 41-45 group, which is higher than any other group above age 30.

It might be expected that the 21-25 group would be the largest because of the general impression that crimes are committed largely by youth; yet there are exactly as many cases in the 26-30 group. Perhaps this unex-

pected result may be caused by the time lag between the age at which the crime is committed and the age of release from the resulting imprisonment. Possibly, too, the men in the 21-25 group find employment more easily than those in the 26-30 group; or perhaps the 21-25 group is less ready to abandon illegal activity, to seek the aid of a prison agency in getting established in the community.

It seems evident that the effect of developing maturity is shown in the two-thirds decrease in the frequency of cases from the 26-30 group to the 31-35 group. This seems to confirm the impression that much of the criminal behavior of youth is largely an adolescent reaction that tends to give way with maturity to a more stable social adaptation. [3]

That there should then be an increase in frequency of cases in the 36-40 age group up to the 41-45 age group is not so easily explained. The difference is not so great that, with the relatively few cases, it may not best be explained as just an unusual coincidence in the cases tabulated and as typical. Without confirmation from a larger number of cases, in the light of the general impression among criminologists, it may be tentatively assumed that there would be a consistent decrease in frequency from the 26-30 age group through the 31-35 and 35-40 groups to the low frequency of the older groups. [4]

Health. There is no information available regarding the health of 49 of the sixty cases. Two records state that health is good, while nine refer to some phase of ill health past or present, mentioning two men with

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3 Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, Juvenile Delincuents Grown Up, New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1940. Chap. VIII.

4 cf. Table III.

cross eyes, one each with epilepsy, rheumatic heart, stomach ulcers and extreme nervousness. Three have past conditions now cured. It does not seem safe, however, to assume from this lack of information that the health of the other 49 is good. Rather it may be gathered that because ill health was not obviously a present problem, the whole question was neglected.

Mentality. In the matter of mental condition there is the same dearth of information. In only seven cases is there any mention of any mental abnormality; three are listed with psychopathic inferiority, one "abnormal", and one each "normal", "insane" and "neurotic." It can only be assumed that the other fifty-three did not appear to be abnormal, although no investigation was made. Even with seven cases of abnormality out of sixty, or 12 per cent, the proportion seems higher than for the general population.

Likewise only 11 case records give any estimate of intelligence. The intelligence quotient of only seven of these is given, averaging 88, but if the one man with an IQ of 120 is omitted, the average is found to be 81. While the number whose IQ is known is too small to be assumed to be representative, there is no reason to think that the general average of the cases would vary much; the IQ's were given in these cases not as exceptional, but merely as incidental from more complete records at the Department of Correction or some other agency.

Education. The statistics regarding school achievement confirm the picture of mental dullness in most of the cases indicated by the record of IQ's above. Half of the group of sixty men did not get beyond the eighth grade; of these seven did not get beyond the sixth grade, considered by the state the minimum for literacy; nine completed the seventh grade but not the eighth. Of the 25 who went beyond the eighth grade, 14 completed the ninth

or tenth grades, but only one completed the eleventh grade who did not then complete high school. It is interesting to observe that there was not a college graduate in the lot, except the three who also had graduate work. In six of the cases it was impossible to find the educational achievement. The following table summarizes the educational achievement:

TABLE - VI

LIMIT OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Grade completed	No. of Men	Per cent
5	1	2
6	6	10
7	9	15
8	13	21
9	5	8
10	9	15
11	1	2
High School	6	10
Trade School	1	2
Graduate Work	3	5
Unknown	6	10
Total	60	100

When it is realized that the data on school grade completed are in most instances based only upon information given by the client, it will be evident that this table probably exaggerates the educational achievement. In the ~~few~~ few situations where it was possible to compare the information given by the client with that from other sources, it was found that clients often added one or two years to their actual number of grades finished. It seems safe to assume, therefore, that the majority of men

not only did not go beyond the eighth grade, but that they did not complete that.

Perhaps it is significant that only one man claimed to have a trade school training. Possibly if more had gone to trade school, rather than high school, they would have been successful in getting training that would have better prepared them for employment in types of work of which they were capable. Such training might have saved them from the frustration of failure in academic high school, from being forced out of school and thus into idleness and crime. It is not clear whether criminality results from leaving school, with its frustrations and feeling of inadequacy, or whether conflicts with the law force the boys to leave school. More often it is probable that other factors cause both results.

Marriage Status. The sixty cases studied demonstrate that the discharged prisoner applying to the United Prison Association is characteristically a single man. While 26 had married, four were divorced, thirteen separated, 2 widowed, leaving only seven men out of sixty known to be now married. No exact comparison can readily be made with the ratios in the general population because of age factors, but it is evident that the proportion of single men and of divorced and separated men must be far higher than in the general population. In Massachusetts, for instance, only 27.7 per cent of the men over 20 were single in 1930.[5] The figures are as follows for the sixty men studied:

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5. United States Bureau of the Census, Abstract of Fifteenth Census of the United States, Washington: 1933. p. 244.

TABLE VII

MARRIAGE STATUS OF MEN

Marriage Status	No. of men	Per Cent
Single	33	55
Widower	2	3
Divorced	5	8
Separated	13	22
Married	7	12
Total	60	100

That so many of the men are unmarried or separated from their wives may be partly explained as the result of their imprisonment's separating them from the community, preventing marriage, dividing families. The same tendencies toward aggression and antisocial behavior that lead to criminal behavior are also a barrier to normal heterosexual relationships and to marriage. The characteristic restlessness, instability, heedlessness that lead to conflict with the law, almost inevitably lead to domestic conflict.

Whatever the cause and effect relationships, the discharged prisoner is seldom a married man living with his wife and family, judging from these 60 cases. The man in the minority group who is married, however, is less likely to apply to the United Prison Association than the unattached man, as he and his family are often helped by family welfare agencies.

Another factor artificially reducing the proportion of married exprisoners applying to the United Prison Association is the situation in

which the family has been receiving generous Aid for Dependent Children while the husband has been imprisoned. If he returns to his family, they immediately lose this aid and are only eligible for the meager welfare relief. If he is undecided about returning to live with his family, or if his wife is loath to accept him, the loss of the Aid to Dependent Children if he rejoins the family, may be decisive in keeping the errant husband from returning to his wife and family.

Of the 60 cases it is known that 30 have no children, while fifteen have one or more children. Of these 15, however, many are estranged from their children or have lost track of them.

Home background. Sociology and social work today accept the fact that the early home and family life of a child are of paramount importance in molding the child's later life. Almost nothing is recorded about the early life or parents of these sixty men. It is believed that a large proportion of them come from broken or inferior homes, but there is so little data about this factor that our survey sheds no light upon it.

From the Social Service Index reports of contacts of social agencies with the men's families, as distinguished from their own, we learn that the families of at least half of the 60 cases have social service contacts. This indicates general and characteristic inadequacy in the family background of these men, although this need not necessarily be so in every case with a social service contact. It would be very interesting to have sufficient data on the family background of these men to be able to study the correlation of family inadequacy with their criminality.

Occupation. It is extremely difficult to classify these men as to occupation. Their history is as unstable in this aspect as in others.

They have often shifted from one occupation to another over the years. Which is a man's occupation, his latest temporary one, the one he held longest, the one he likes best, the best paying, or the most highly skilled? The problem is the more difficult to solve when the man may not successfully have pursued any of the jobs. When does a garage man become a mechanic? A hospital worker, a technician? A lunch room employee, a cook? How far can one accept the client's claim to vocational skill? Is a farm laborer, a farmer or a laborer? Is a poorly paid routine white collar job better than a remunerative mechanical skill? As with other data, it was necessary to depend largely upon the men's stories, characterized by exaggeration and inconsistency, and, therefore, not very reliable.

Unsatisfactory as is any classification of the occupation of 60 cases, it has been attempted, and is presented in tabular form below:

TABLE VIII

TYPES OF OCCUPATION OF MEN

Types of work	No. of men	Per cent
Labor and unskilled	15	25
Farm labor	1	2
Semi-skilled	23	38
Restaurant worker	5	8
Seamen	2	3
Skilled	7	12
White collar work	2	3
Professional	2	3
Unknown	3	5
Total	60	100

The semi-skilled group included such callings as carpenter, plumber, painter, truckdriver, elevator operator. Among the skilled occupations were steeplejack, electrician, shoecutter, machinist. While there is reason in separating skilled from unskilled, with men like those studied here, the differentiation is very vague.

It is notable that 25 per cent of these men are frankly only laborers with no skill and no claim to skill. If to these are added the 51 per cent included in farm labor, semi-skilled, restaurant worker and seaman, we find 76 per cent who are unskilled or only semi-skilled. While it might be questioned whether such occupations as painter, carpenter and truckman should be included in the semi-skilled category, this procedure seems practical with these men, as we know that they tend to exaggerate their proficiency, and that their job-history is one of failure rather than success.

Summary. Without implying that men are only a combination of statistical factors or trying to generalize about different individuals, it may still be found worthwhile to summarize the conclusions with regard to these 60 men representing the clientele of the United Prison Association.

They usually live in Metropolitan Boston but probably have no homes as few of them have families with whom they can live. They are citizens, usually of American or Irish-American extraction. Religion is not important to them, but they are more likely to say Catholic than Protestant if asked about it.

Most of these men are between twenty and thirty years of age, in fair health, but probably somewhat below average in education and intelligence. Only a few are definitely psychopathic. One quarter of them have no special skill and only a few of them have any skill to make them easily

employable.

All in all they are not very different from any random group of the same ages that might be assembled in greater Boston, but probably a little inferior generally to the community average. They are less stable, more reserved, and are characterized by their loose attachments, if any, to family, friends, vocation, religion, or social group.

CHAPTER V

DELINQUENCY RECORD

Understanding of the client's conflict with the law is essential as a vital factor in the relationship of the client to the United Prison Association. The peculiarity and the aggravation of a man's problems as a result of his imprisonment, are chief reasons for a separate agency to deal with prisoners.

The exprisoner comes to the United Prison Association expecting a sympathetic understanding of his situation and a specialized facility to help him. The Association undertakes to give this aid to him. A frank discussion of the criminal background of the present situation is therefore usually expected. However difficult it may sometimes be for a man to come to the Association, when he does come, it is an admission of some imprisonment. He has not only expressed a wish for help but has also already overcome the greatest obstacle to his cooperation in establishing a basis for it.

His applying to the United Prison Association implies his willingness to face the fact of his prison record and to discuss it with an understanding worker. It is also a recognition that his imprisonment is an important factor in his predicament. He expects to discuss his experience in conflict with the law, realizing that every other client in the office has a similar record so that he need not feel unduly embarrassed or guilty.

The agency also is obligated to learn more definitely about the client's background of conflict with the law in order to understand his real problems and offer him better service. As an arm of society, supported

by voluntary contributions of the community, the Association must guard against being exploited by the "chiseler" and against squandering money by giving "handouts" that serve no useful purpose.

From both client's and agency viewpoints it is, therefore, important to know the background of conflict with the law. To discuss this conflict early in the interview with the client is usually helpful, not because it is the main subject or purpose of the interview, but rather because establishing the background of that distressing history removes at once any fear that discovery of his offenses may prejudice the agency against him. Further such discussion leads to the consideration of the present problem without the feeling that some pertinent fact is being held back that prevents frank understanding.

The facts of a client's criminal history are sought, but with no judgmental approach. As the doctor examines and prescribes for the man with some physical trouble, the case worker of the United Prison Association probes the history of the client's conflicts with society, tries to treat the client in the light of all the information available. Information about criminal records is sought for no sentimental purpose, nor from curiosity, but only to help the client and from accumulated experience in many cases, to know better how to treat others.

In seeking the facts about the criminal record of a man, it is realized that they are in the past and cannot be changed. Sometimes it might be easier for the client to let him try to forget them. His attitude toward the criminal record, however, is a present and a future concern which can be modified. A frank acceptance of the facts affords a good start for consideration of what is to be done.

At this agency it is unusual to find a man who regards himself as a criminal or as a bad man; but it is likewise unusual to find a man who denies his offenses. The common attitude is one of rationalization. The client usually has some good reason why he committed the offense; he was drunk, or "only a kid"; his wife drove him to it, or maybe his father; he was with the gang, or he did it to protect some friend. Such is the attitude of the offender recorded in the case records.

While most of the men have had many offenses they tend to follow a pattern. The auto thief would not think of committing a burglary; the burglar would have nothing to do with a sex offender; the sex offender would not do anything so mean as a holdup; a holdup man despises a drug peddler. The embezzler, the counterfeiter, the postoffice converter are "gentlemen" and not to be classed with ordinary criminals. Though a large percentage of the offenders get drunk, they all regard the "stewbum" as about the lowest condition to which a man can fall. A safecracker is deeply humiliated to serve time for drunkenness.

The offender, while admitting his offenses, does not usually regard himself as a menace to society. If he has committed a crime, he has expiated that by his imprisonment. The man who appeared in the headlines as hardboiled, arrogant, tough, determined to spread terror, appears at the United Prison Association as weak, bewildered, insecure, seeking help because he feels he is rejected by the community.

An outline of his delinquency record is usually first learned from the client. This outline is then supplemented and checked with the photostat of his complete Massachusetts delinquency record secured from the Massachusetts Board of Probation. If there is any reason to think that there may be

any out-of-state or Federal record the Bureau of Criminal Identification of the State Department of Public Safety is consulted and a complete outline of all offenses in all states, and Federal, is secured. Detailed information can be secured on Federal crimes from the office of the Board of Probation of the United States Department of Justice. Detailed records of all those committed to state institutions can be secured from the state Department of Correction, or of juvenile delinquents from the Boys' Parole Division of the Department of Public Welfare. All together these records usually give a fairly good outline of a man's court and institution record, but unless all the case records are consulted, it is only an outline. Details of major crimes are usually available, but the minor offenses of the lower courts which generally include a man's first offenses are frequently beyond any investigation.

There is great difficulty in classifying the various offenses because (1) there are very many different technical terms for the same or similar offenses, with either no difference or very fine shades of meaning; (2) a man is often prosecuted for many offenses which consisted, however, of only one act; (3) there are varying statutory differences in definitions in various jurisdictions; (4) there is failure to prosecute or convict of a charge of which the man is presumably guilty; (5) there are cases of conviction of a man believed innocent; (6) there are technical crimes such as accidental manslaughter, as by an automobile, or escape from incarceration.

The laws define thousands of different offenses against the statutes and ordinances of our states and other jurisdictions. It is necessary to group these, in order to gain a picture of the types of crimes. We follow the classifications used by the agency in so grouping them. This may be

compared with the more complete and complicated classifications of such authorities as Morris[1] or the Bureau of the Census[2]. Summarized, crimes are grouped as follows:

ACQUISITIVE

- Larceny
- Breaking and entering (night or day)
- Robbery
- Using an auto without authority
- Embezzlement
- Forgery
- Converting postoffice funds

HOMICIDAL

- Assault and battery
- Murder and manslaughter

SEXUAL

- Adultery
- Bigamy and polygamy
- Violation of Mann Act
- Rape
- Indecent assault

PUBLIC CRIMES

- Auto violations
- Counterfeiting
- Arson
- Trespass
- Carrying concealed weapons
- Gambling
- Violation of liquor laws
- Nonsupport of family
- Vagrancy

DRUNKENNESS

NARCOTIC CRIMES

Most crimes are easily classified under one of these heads, but

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1 Albert Morris, Criminology, New York: Longmans,Green and Co. 1934

2 U.S.Bureau of the Census, "Prisoners 1923", Washington: 1923. Table #11, p.28.

there are some more difficult to assign. The rule of reason has been followed rather than technicalities in deciding such cases. Burglary, for instance, is technically the breaking in to commit any crime, but as commonly used, it represents an acquisitive crime. Robbery involves an attack on a person but is also an acquisitive crime essentially. Driving an automobile without authority is only a euphemism for larceny. Indecent assault is a sex crime rather than a homicidal. Vagrancy may mean almost anything but is classed as a public crime.

Many of the offenders have committed many and varied offenses. As this survey is really interested not in the crimes but in the criminals, an attempt is made to classify them according to their "principal offense." Thus if a man has a record of several burglaries, a larceny, an auto offense and a few drunkenness arrests, he would certainly be called a burglar. Or the man with a record of an arrest for gaming, assault and battery on his wife, two larcenies and rape, is a sex offender.

Deciding the principal crime is not always easy or clear cut. In deciding the principal offense of each man, the seriousness of the several offenses has been weighed indicated by penalty imposed; the frequency of each type of offense; and the client's attitude.

The offenses are summarized in the following table:

TABLE IX

TYPES OF OFFENSES OF MEN

Type	No. of Offenses	Offenders No.	Offenders Per Cent	Principal Offense No.	Principal Offense Per Cent
Acquisitive	176	49	(82)	40	(67)
Homicidal	35	25	(38)	7	(12)
Sexual	25	18	(30)	8	(13)
Public	83	45	(75)	5	(8)
Drunkenness	168	27	(45)	0	(0)
Narcotics	0	0	(0)	0	(0)
Total	487			60	(100)

This table shows the predominance of the acquisitive crimes among all the types. In number of offenses, in number of offenders, and in the number of offenders with this as their chief crime, it stands first. Acquisitive crimes are the commonest crimes; acquisitive criminals, the commonest offenders. There are twice as many records of acquisitive offenses as of any other type except drunkenness. Eighty-two per cent of all criminals known to United Prison Association are acquisitive offenders, while 67 percent are primarily acquisitive offenders as judged by the test of ascertaining their principal offense.

Acquisitive crimes also are the most common secondary offense of other types of offenders except for drunkenness. Except for drunkenness, it is the type of offense most often repeated by the offender. It is interesting to note also that in tabulating first offenses, acquisitive crimes are the first offense of twenty-eight of the sixty cases or 47 per cent, as demonstrated in the table below:

TABLE X

FIRST OFFENSES OF MEN

Offense	No. of men	Per Cent
Acquisitive	28	47
Homicidal	5	8
Sex	3	5
Public	14	24
Intemperance	8	13
Juvenile	2	3
Total	60	100

Homicidal crimes are next in importance judging by the number of offenses, 35, and by the number of offenders of this type, 23, which is 38 per cent of all the offenders. The number of those whose principal offense is homicidal is, however, less than those whose principal offense is sexual, but the difference is small and may be explained by the seriousness with which sexual offenses are regarded, thus perhaps making a man's sex offense his principal offense, when some other offense might equally well have been designated as principal.

The homicidal offenses run all the way from straight first degree murder down to assault and battery, perhaps in a drunken brawl. Robbery might be included in homicidal offenses, but it has been felt more logical to class robberies in the category of acquisitive offenses, though the same offense, if the robber happens to be unlucky enough to injure the victim more seriously, is homicidal. It is to be noted that relative to the number of homicidal offenders, the number of homicidal offenses is small. The number

of clients whose first offense is homicidal is also relatively small,- only five out of 60 cases. Apparently there is less tendency to repetition of homicidal offenses than of other types.

The very term "sexual offenses" usually induces an emotional reaction. Probably the offenses are more numerous than is generally realized, but the offenders less vicious. Eighteen of the 60 cases are sex offenders, or 30 per cent, but there are only 25 sex offenses represented. This is only one and one-third offenses per offender as compared with three and a half acquisitive offenses per offender. There are eight men whose principal offense is a sex offense and who are considered, therefore, primarily sex offenders. This is 13 per cent of the 60 cases, a larger percent than for any other category except acquisitive offenders.

It is noted from Table X that there are only three men, or 5 per cent, whose first offense was a sex offense. This includes one man of almost fifty whose guilt was very doubtful. These figures suggest that few sex offenders begin with this sort of crime, but that this type of crime follows after the man has fallen into a criminal pattern.

Those crimes classed as crimes against public welfare are a miscellaneous group including such contrasting items as auto violations, arson, carrying concealed weapons, gaming, nonsupport, violation of liquor laws and vagrancy. The only thing they have in common is that they affect the public rather than any individual. They are generally less serious than the offenses in the preceding categories, but this is not always true. Counterfeiting or arson may be very serious, and carrying concealed weapons may be a petty offense or at other times be the only charge that can be proved, when the intent was murder or highway robbery.

Forty-five of the 60 cases studied (75 per cent) were convicted of public crimes, with a total of 83 such offenses. There are five whose principal offense is of this sort, including one each convicted of arson, counterfeiting, vagrancy, neglect of family and carrying a revolver. There are 14 men (24 per cent) whose first conviction was for a public crime which consisted of such offenses as malicious injury to property, begging, trespass, violating liquor laws, peddling and tampering with railroad signal.

In the group of crimes against the public are included automobile offenses. There are 11 such offenders (18 per cent) who committed 23 automobile offenses, but there was no case where the automobile offense was the principal crime.

In accordance with the policy of the agency there were no men studied whose principal crime was drunkenness; yet there were more convictions of drunkenness than for all other offenses together except acquisitive offenses. Twenty-seven men (45 per cent) have 168 convictions for drunkenness. This is more than six offenses each, which is over two and a half times the ratio for other types of offenses.

Just what the cause and effect relationship is between drunkenness and other offenses is a question too complicated for consideration here, but it is evident that drunkenness is concommitant with most other types of crime. That there is some definite correlation is shown by the fact that there is only one drunkenness conviction among the eight men whose principal crime is sexual, while all but one of those seven whose principal offense is homicidal have drunkenness convictions,- a total of 53 drunkenness convictions in all. This fact suggests the possibility that indulgence in alcohol may be a satisfactory substitute release for sexual excess for some men;

it may also point to institutionalization of chronic alcoholics as indicated for reducing the homicide rate.

It is notable that among the 60 cases there was not one convicted of a narcotic offense: significant of the success of the effort of the Federal government in reducing the drug traffic in this area which has been assisted by the war's preventing importation of narcotics. Nevertheless, men convicted of narcotic offenses are still at large: other statistics indicate that normally perhaps five per cent of the cases of the United Prison Association have been convicted of narcotic offenses.[3] By some chance, the random selection of 60 cases for this study failed to include any dope cases.

Recent experience in the agency with such cases leaves the impression that a man once addicted to narcotics gets along fairly well so long as he is supplied, but that he is rarely cured; that energetic government work and the war have combined nearly to wipe out the dope traffic in Massachusetts; and that the United States seems able to cure many of its dope addicts in its hospitals in Lexington, Kentucky, and Springfield, Missouri.

Reference to the summary of first offenses of the men studied (Table X) yields several interesting facts. One is the small number of homicidal crimes (five) and sexual crimes (three) included in the first offenses. That is the more notable when it is realized that half of the clients were 18 years of age or younger at the time of their first conviction,- an age of great aggression, strong emotion, and little stability. The large number of public crimes (fourteen) among the first offenses consisted mostly of relatively harmless offenses resulting from the impulse to adventure and to self-assertion, and of offenses which suggest the exploiting of youth by parents

3 United Prison Association of Mass. Analysis of Case Work For the year ending December 31, 1940.

or other older people.

The largest class of first offenses is the acquisitive, as would be expected. Of these 28, at least 11 are for stealing automobiles; some of the other seven larcenies may be for larceny of an automobile, as the records did not specify. There are eight cases of breaking and entering, but the commonest first offense is using an automobile without authority, as variously described.

Criminals are usually divided into habitual offenders, occasional offenders, and professional offenders. These terms are carefully defined, but it is necessary here merely to state what they mean.

Professional Offenders are those who gain, or attempt to gain, the major part of their support from illegal activity. Of these there are none in the 60 cases studied. The United Prison Association would not usually expect to have such offenders, although occasionally, when the professional offender is down and out he appeals for help to an agency like this. A Habitual Offender is any offender who has served three or more sentences in any correctional institution, including juvenile training schools, or two sentences if one is in a major penal institution. The State Farm is classed as a minor institution for this purpose. Those with fewer convictions are classed as Occasional Offenders.

Of the 60 cases studied 46 (77 per cent) are habitual offenders, and 14 (23 per cent) are occasional offenders. The classification is a useful one, but it does not indicate that the offenses of the occasional offenders are less serious. In the first seven cases of occasional offenders studied were included conspiracy to murder, three cases of rape, a large postal embezzlement and armed robbery.

The court is more inclined to leniency in cases of occasional offenders than of habitual offenders. From the point of view of possible rehabilitation, the chances are obviously better, other things being equal, for the occasional offender than for the man whose offenses have become "habitual."

It is interesting to note the types of offenders, as classified by their principal crime, who are included in the group of fourteen occasional offenders:

TABLE XI

TYPES OF CRIMES OF OCCASIONAL OFFENDERS

Type of Crime	No. of men	Per Cent
Acquisitive	6	43
Sexual	6	43
Public	1	7
Homicidal	1	7
Total	14	100

The large proportion of sexual offenders is striking, as well as the expected absence of any drunkenness offenders. Although the number of sexual offenders represent the smallest category in the 60 cases except narcotics and only 36 per cent of the number of acquisitive offenders, the number of sexual offenders is 43 per cent of all the occasional offenders. One-third of all the 18 sexual offenders are found to be occasional offenders rather than habitual. (See Table IV).

This fact suggests various explanations. Sexual offenses are regarded so seriously by the courts that even a first offense may draw a sentence to a major institution, while on the other extreme, a man must usually

be arrested repeatedly for drunkenness before he will be sentenced to serve any time at even a minor institution. A long sentence is said to be rather generally accepted by the courts, too, as particularly efficacious with sex offenders in preventing recidivism. Certainly while a sexual offender is serving a long sentence he is prevented from committing further offenses in the community, while the drunk or larceny offender who gets a light sentence, if any, is soon returned to the community and to the same environment to commit more and repeated offenses.

A study of this group of 60 offenders brings out certain patterns of behavior. Some of the offenders are easily labelled as an alcoholic, a homosexual, a burglar, a robber, a counterfeiter, an automobile thief, a sex offender, a psychopathic, a chiseler, a brawler or are thought of in connection with one memorable crime. The majority are not so easily classified, but many of them do group themselves in certain patterns.

There is the typical adolescent boy, unstable, showing off, trying to prove his prowess to his associates and himself. All his friends seem to have automobiles. A friend comes along in an auto and he jumps in, ready for adventure. To the court he is guilty of larceny of an automobile, driving without a license, failing to stop for an officer, and perhaps other offenses. Using a car without authority is the commonest first offense in the cases studied, particularly with the younger offenders.

While 60 cases is not a large enough number to make the details dependable as exactly representative, the tabulation of the age of the first offense gives significant results:

TABLE XII

AGE OF FIRST COURT RECORD

Age	No. of men	Totals
8	1	
9	2	
10	2	
11	3	
12	3	11
13	5	
14	1	
15	6	
16	4	
17	2	18
18	5	
19	4	
20	2	11
21 - 25	4	
26 - 30	5	9
31 - 35	4	
36 - 40	5	
48	1	
55	1	11
Total	60	60

Almost half the men (29) had a court record as juvenile delinquents before reaching 18 years of age; of these, 11 had court records as little boys of 8 to 12 years. Forty of the 60 cases (67 per cent) had a court record by 20 years of age.

These figures showing the early age at which conflict with the law is recorded are the more significant when it is considered that neighbors, parents, police, school and court officials are extremely reluctant to bring children before the court. Usually the first court appearance of a child represents, not his first offense against the law, but the failure of other measures of the family and the community to control a child, al-

ready a persistent offender.

The most typical offender of those studied has a record of many larcenies, or of breaking and entering, or of both. His illegal activity seems to lead to other types of offenses, homicidal, sexual, public, and particularly drunkenness. The average acquisitive offender has 3.6 acquisitive crimes on his record as compared with 1.5 homicide offenses for the homicidal criminal or 1.2 sexual offenses for the sexual offender. In reading the records of the acquisitive offenders, one gets the impression of persistent offenders who are going back and forth to major and minor institutions ad infinitum.

Stealing automobiles does not appear to be as usual as one might expect, except for the prevalence among young offenders of using a car without authority. It is notable that there is not one case in which an automobile offense is the principal offense, and only 23 cases of automobile offenses in all. When the multitude of motor offenses in the lower courts is considered, it is surprising to find automobile offenses so unimportant among the crimes of these serious offenders.

CHAPTER VI

INCARCERATION RECORD

It is hard to realize that the "cases" who have been described and summarized in statistics, who came to the United Prison Association for help of all kinds, are headline criminals of the press who have terrorized communities. The time that these men have served, however, shows that they were hardboiled criminals and serious, rather than petty, offenders.

These 60 men considered here have served more than 356 years of confinement, or an average of five years and eleven months each, exclusive of time spent in juvenile institutions. The period of time most frequently served is three years and two months. In tabular form the time served is shown below:

TABLE XIII

TOTAL CONFINEMENT OF MEN

Period Served [a]	No. of men	Per Cent
1 year and less	12	20
1 to 2 years	11	18
2 " 3 "	7	12
3 " 4 "	9	15
4 " 5 "	9	15
5 " 6 "	6	10
6 " 7 "	0	0
7 " 8 "	0	0
8 " 9 "	1	1
9 " 10 "	3	5
10 " 12 "	1	2
12 " 17 "	1	2
Total	60	100

a. The second figure is the upper limit

The majority of these 60 men studied served several sentences. Eight of them were first sentenced for delinquency to the Lyman School (at

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Westborough) for delinquent younger boys; six others at the Industrial School (for older boys) at Shirley. Three men came from the county training schools (for school offenders principally). In all, 15 of the 60 men studied had first served time at the Lyman School, at Shirley, at a county training school or at two of these.

It has been frequently asserted that the Massachusetts Training School for boys, Lyman and Shirley, are schools of crime where small offenders are made big ones. The 60 individuals studied here lend no confirmation to that idea, as only 13 men, or 21 per cent, of the 60 men had been at either school.

Each county has at least one jail and house of correction. These are usually for petty offenses and a man may not be sentenced to them for more than two and a half years for one offense. They are under county authority, politically organized without a merit system. At the best, they are not organized to do more than to keep the inmates out of the community for a time and to punish the men for their offenses by confinement: at the worst they are centers of crime, corruption and degradation. Beside the men sentenced to jail or house of correction after conviction, the men awaiting trial are also held in jail, but this time is not considered as time served for a crime, although the court may take it into consideration in passing sentence.

The Commonwealth has four institutions for imprisonment of men. There is the Massachusetts Reformatory at Concord, which is a prison for men under 30 who are less serious offenders. At Charlestown is the State Prison, said to be the oldest prison in the country still in use, where the most hardened, dangerous and unpromising prisoners are held. At Norfolk is the

State Prison Colony to which prisoners are transferred from Concord or Charlestown for more constructive treatment, particularly to prepare them for release into the community. No prisoners are sentenced to Norfolk; they come there only by transfer from the other institutions by the Commissioner of Correction. Thus, time served at Norfolk is only part of sentences to other institutions. The State Farm at Bridgewater is an institution particularly for treatment of alcoholics and for confinement of defective delinquents and the criminal insane. While the courts sentence men to the different institutions, except Norfolk, the Commissioner's power of transfer makes him in fact the judge of where the prisoner shall be confined.

TABLE XIV

INSTITUTIONS OF CONFINEMENT - NUMBER OF MEN
FROM 60 CASES IMPRISONED AT DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS

Institutions	No. of men	No. of Different Men		Per Cent	
Lyman School	8			13	
Shirley (Industrial School)	6			10	
County Training Schools	3			5	
		15			(25)
Jails	9			15	
		41			(68)
Houses of Correction	39			65	
Massachusetts Reformatory	19			32	
		28			(47)
State Prison	13			22	
			30		(50)
State Farm	6			10	
Prisons in other States	14			23	
		17			(28)
U. S. Penitentiaries	8			13	
Total		60			

In other states are prisons, penitentiaries, and reformatories similar to those in Massachusetts: the United States Government also has such institutions at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and in other sections. Often the men have served at various institutions and been returned several times to the same institution for breach of parole.

Analysis of this table brings out that only 13 of the 60 offenders have been in State Prison where the state's worst criminals are imprisoned. Nineteen come from the Reformatory at Concord, but because of duplications, there are only 28, or 47 per cent, of the 60 cases who have served time at either of these institutions. Six men have been at the State Farm, but of these, two have been at Charlestown, two at Concord. Thus we see that 30 men, just half of those studied, have been incarcerated in the state penal institutions for men.

Fourteen (23 percent) are known to have done time in major institutions in other states. This figure is incomplete because not all cases were checked with the Bureau of Criminal Identification, and because it is not clear how complete is the reporting of commitments in other states to the Bureau, with checking of fingerprints for identification. New York was the leading state for out-of-state imprisonment, but all parts of the country were represented.

In Federal penal institutions eight men are known to have served time for such offenses as violating the Mann Act regarding interstate transportation of women; postal thefts; violation of the Dyer Act concerning interstate transportation of stolen cars; passing counterfeit money; and army desertion. There is some duplication in names of those imprisoned in other states and in Federal institutions, but there were seventeen different men,

or 28 per cent, who are known to have done time in other than Massachusetts institutions, indicating the mobility and transciency of criminal offenders.

The largest number of imprisonments was in houses of correction, where 39 of the 60 prisoners, or 65 per cent, were incarcerated. Nine men (15 per cent) were sentenced to jail, but eliminating duplications of those who served both in jail and house of correction, there were 41 men, or 68 per cent, who were in houses of correction or jail, or both. Fifteen men (25 per cent) of these never served time in any major institution.

This large proportion of cases who served time in county institutions is significant. While the average time of imprisonment there is less than in the major institutions, it is long enough to do much harm, if not much good. Little, or no attempt, is made in these county institutions to do any rehabilitation by education, vocational training, or any case work. The general atmosphere is one of enforced idleness in bad associations. Any benefit comes from the regular habits of eating and sleeping and from separation from alcohol and sometimes narcotics.

That these county institutions, not the state juvenile training school, are the breeding places of crime is suggested by the following table, summarizing the types of institutions in which the men imprisoned in major institutions have previously been incarcerated:

TABLE XV

NUMBER OF MEN FROM MAJOR INSTITUTIONS
WHO SERVED PREVIOUSLY IN MINOR INSTITUTIONS

Type of institution	No. of Men	Per Cent
In Massachusetts Training Schools only	5	11
In These and County Institutions	5	11
In County Institutions Only	21	47
In Neither State nor County Institutions	14	31
Total	45	100

Thus it is seen that of the 45 men (75 per cent) who have served time in major institutions, only 5, or 11 per cent, had been at only a Massachusetts Training School, while 21, or 47 per cent, had been only at county institutions. Five men, or 11 per cent, had been at both types of institutions, so that both would be expected to share in the influences they may have had on their graduates. While ten men, 17 per cent out of 60, had their first experience in a correctional institution at Lyman School or Shirley, 26 men, or 58 per cent, had had experience in a county institution.

However one may interpret cause and effect relationship, the fact is clear that the county institutions, jails and houses of correction, are the schools from which a majority of the 45 major criminals in the 60 cases come, while 11 per cent came from Lyman School or Shirley. When it is realized that, in addition to being the stepping stone to imprisonment in a major penal institution, the county institutions were the prison for fifteen men, or 25 per cent, out of the 60 cases, who have not been at a major institution, the paramount importance of the county penal institutions in the penal system is evident.

It is interesting to see that, while 29 of the 60 cases had court records as juveniles (between 7 and 17), only ten of these were in the Lyman School or Shirley. Presumably the ten committed were among the least promising. This suggests that these schools may be doing fairly well in diverting juvenile delinquents from becoming major criminals. It also suggests the value in crime prevention of working to divert boys already clearly headed toward criminal careers, while they are still young and plastic.

CHAPTER VII

SERVICE GIVEN

Service to men released from penal institutions is the principal purpose of the United Prison Association of Massachusetts. In previous chapters we have considered the types of men who come to the agency and their history of conflict with the law. In this chapter the service rendered to them will be considered.

All clients of the agency have been imprisoned somewhere at some time to be eligible for this agency's specialized service. Many of the clients come directly upon release to the agency. Others have some money when released, such as the five dollars given each man when released from the Massachusetts Reformatory. With this small amount they try to get established and get employment only to find themselves destitute in a few days or weeks.

Tabulated below are the intervals between the date of release and the date of application to the United Prison Association.

TABLE XVI

INTERVAL BETWEEN RELEASE FROM CONFINEMENT AND APPLICATION TO UNION PRISON ASSOCIATION

Intervals between release and application to U P A	No. of men	Percent	Cumulatiye No. of men	Total Per cent
Same day or previous	14	23	14	23
Within one week	11	18	25	42
Within 1 month	7	12	32	53
Within six months	15	25	47	78
Within 1 year	8	13	55	92
Within 5 years	4	7	59	98
Eight years	1	2	60	100
Total	60	100		

CHAPTER VIII

[illegible]

[illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

It is evident that about a quarter of the men apply on the day of release or prior to release, and more than a half within a month of release. The largest single group are those who apply within six months but not within one month of release. The question arises why these men did not earlier consult the agency, instead of waiting presumably until their slender resources were exhausted, they had suffered the frustration of another failure, and they were "down and out."

They must have had resources of some kind, whether cash, credit, family or friends, to have existed for more than a month. The need of help then, proves they were actually unable to get along without the assistance of some agency like the United Prison Association. How much better it would be in the majority of cases for the offender to have consulted with the agency while he still had some resources! With his own funds for room and meals, constructive plans could be worked out for his employment or other placement, without having first to consider relief.

The question arises why (or why not) do clients come to the agency. Differently expressed, the question is: who referred them to the United Prison Association, for a man could know about coming to the agency only if he learned of it from someone either by word of mouth or in writing. The sources from whom clients were referred to this agency are tabulated below:

TABLE XVII

SOURCES OF REFERRAL OF MEN
to the UNION PRISON ASSOCIATION

Source	Cases	Per Cent
Correctional sources	22	37
Industrial Aid Society	6	10
Central Application Bureau	3	5
Y M C A	1	2
	32	54
Applied personally	28	46
Total	60	100

The 28 cases listed as having "applied personally" came on their own responsibility without being definitely referred by some official or agency. Someone must have suggested the availability of the agency to each of these men at some time, but in most cases, if the referral is thus informal, it is listed as "applied" and the agency does not learn from whom the suggestion came. Often the client will state that he does not know.

Of these men referred by correctional sources, the largest number are sent by the parole agents of the Department of Correction, but others come from parole agents of Massachusetts Boys' Parole of the Public Welfare Department, from chaplains and officials of the county penal institutions, and from probation officers. Likewise men on probation or parole to the United States Probation office are often referred to this agency.

In accordance with coordination policies worked out by most of the agencies dealing with single men in Boston, all cases of such men are in principle first registered at the Central Application Bureau for Homeless and Transient Men. Many of the men do not understand this policy and apply directly at the agencies and from there are sent to register at the Central

Application Bureau before being accepted by the United Prison Association or other agency. Thus relatively few cases are referred from Central Application Bureau, although in principle all cases come through that coordinating agency,- a very valuable service.

The relatively large number of referrals from the Industrial Aid Society results from the close relationship between the two agencies. The Industrial Aid Society did considerable work with discharged prisoners until that function was turned over to the United Prison Association at the organization of the latter agency in 1940. Many prisoners, not knowing of the change in responsibilities, still apply at the Industrial Aid Society and are turned over to the United Prison Association. Likewise in agreement between the agencies, those men applying at the United Prison Association, whose prison records are so remote or minor as to be no significent factor in their situation, are referred by that agency to the Industrial Aid Society; both these agencies in the same building facilitates close cooperation.

There are usually some referrals from such agencies as the Boston Overseers of Public Welfare, the Travelers Aid Society, and from the hospitals.

No consideration of the sources of referrals and the relationships with other agencies would be complete without mentioning the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners, which, with rare exceptions, does not cooperate with social agencies. Frankly a relief, rather than a social service agency, the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners does not usually register its cases with the Social Service Index nor with the Central Application Bureau, and there is

"little cooperation with the Department of Correction, other prisoners societies or social agencies. There is no follow-up service, although the same man may apply many times."[1] From "Resources in Boston For Aiding Discharged Prisoners" prepared by Boston Council of Social Agencies, we learn further that, "the income of this agency, which in each of the past five years has exceeded expenditures, comes in large measure from its invested funds, which in 1937 amounted to $144,328.72. The money spent for relief -- has amounted to about one-third of total expendtitures."[1]

That there is known to be an agency like the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners, giving relief without investigation, without case recording, and with virtually no cooperation, coordination or reference to other agencies in the community, creates a condition in which there is necessarily much duplication of relief. It tends to impede, also, the development of constructive case work with discharged prisoners when they can get relief with little inquiry about genuine need, with no reference to the efforts of other agencies to do constructive work in the case, and with no attempt to help the recipient to use the relief in working out constructive plans. It is not the policy of the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners to duplicate relief from other agencies; their policy is rather to refuse to cooperate to prevent such duplication.

In a modern penal system, prisoners are released conditionally under supervision before the expiration of their full sentences. This type of release is usually known as parole, but in the Federal penal system it is under the probation office and called probation.

Nearly half the sixty cases studied were men under some form of

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1 Boston Council of Social Agencies, Bureau of Research and Studies, Resources in Boston for Aiding Discharged Prisoners, March 1938.

official supervision, as shown in the table below:

TABLE XVIII

MEN UNDER OFFICIAL SUPERVISION

Type of supervision	No.of men	Per cent
Under parole	23	38
Under U.S. "probation"	3.	5
On probation	1	2
Pending trial	1	2
	28	47
Unsupervised	32	53
Total	60	100

In the cases of those under supervision, the cooperation between the agency and the parole agent or probation officer, makes a three-cornered relationship with the client. This can be and frequently is, a very cooperative and constructive relationship. With the prestige, authority and resources of the state available, the parole agent can do much for and with the client, but the parole agent is hampered by his heavy case load, and,in dealing with the paroles by the fact that he represents repressive authority.

The United Prison Association, because it is unofficial, is not bound by official procedure or technicalities. Its interest is primarily in helping the individual man. The parolee, suspicious and reserved as he has become, can feel free to talk as man to man to the agency case worker, with no fear that anything he says may be used against him. The agency must be above any suspicion of conspiring with public authorities against the client who must have confidence that any information he gives will be considered as privileged as that he gives to his physician. At the same time the agency must never lay itself open to the charge that it

is sentimental, that it pampers the criminal, or that it fails to cooperate fully with those in authority. There is no proper conflict between the authorities administrating the regulatory and penal systems of society and those like the United Prison Association who endeavor to help the offender adjust in the community after release. Both are trying to protect the community; the purpose of both is to have the offender conform to minimum community standards and adjust to a satisfactory life in the community. Although the approaches are different they are complementary.

The request of the client is usually for relief. He needs something to eat; he has no place to sleep, he needs shoes or overcoat. Occasionally the client is seeking only a job, or needs help in making some necessary contact. Almost always his request is for something material; the need he feels is for some help in his immediate problem.

What resources has the United Prison Association available for its clients? These available resources may be classified as: (1) food, (2) lodging, (3) clothing, (4) employment, (5) service, and (6) referral. The frequency with which these resources for aid are used is indicated in the following table.

TABLE XIX

USE OF TYPES OF RESOURCES FOR CLIENTS

Type of Resource	No. of Men	Unduplicated Total	Percent
Food	49		82
Lodging	36		60
Clothing	19		32
Total relief		55	92
Employment	9		15
Service	31		52
Referral to other agencies	18		30
Total of all kinds of service		39	65
Both relief and service	34		57

It should be remarked at once that the data above apply to the types of resources used for clients at any time during the relationship with the agency. Some men have had the benefit of all six, but over a longer period of time. It is unusual for more than two or three types of resources to be used for a client at one time. If a man needs food, lodging and clothes, for instance, he is not in any condition to think of employment or other problems until those more immediate needs are satisfied, at least in part.

It is rather startling and disappointing to find relief still playing so large a part in the work of a specialized case work agency, when governmental agencies dispense relief so generally under the various categories. The fact is, however, that a very large proportion of these men do need immediate financial help, although they can become eligible for

public relief after a while.

All but 11 of the 60 men needed food at one time or another. Usually this is given, not in cash, but in meal tickets good in certain restaurants and nontransferable. The standard amount for a meal ticket is fifteen cents for which a reasonably adequate meal can be secured at these restaurants.

Any man can get put up for the night at the city Wayfarer's Lodge without much trouble, but only for a limited number of nights, usually not more than three. For a man to have to stay there, however, stamps him as"down and out." The problem of lodging for clients of the United Prison Association often arises from the fact that to apply for a job, to get mail, or to be considered for any kind of relief or for WPA a man must have an address. A man can not keep his appearance neat and is likely to have his few possessions stolen if he does not have a room. Often men are put up temporarily in such places as People's Palace, but usually if a man is to be assisted to establish himself, it is considered necessary to put him up in a room for a week or so, unless he has a home where he can stay.

A man cannot usually apply successfully for a job or feel adequate to meet any problem if he feels that his clothes are shabby. Some of the men are in desperate need of shoes, or socks or overcoats in very cold weather. With others, the problem is to secure work clothes after employment has been secured. Still others, who appear neat and well clothed, explain that their suits are prison made; they feel that everyone they meet can recognize the fact; they are oppressed by the prison stigmata. A factor often producing the need of clothing is the discharge of men sentenced to jail or house of correction with only the same clothes with which they

entered. If, committed in July, they emerge six months later in summer clothes, straw hat and no coat, that is tragic. Depending upon circumstances, the man is given an order for the necessary clothes at one of several cooperating stores, or is referred to Morgan Memorial or Salvation Army where he can work for his clothing.

The small number of men (9) who are listed as receiving employment service does not give a true picture of this service, as it includes only those for whom the agency directly found employment without consulting any other agency. The more usual procedure is to refer the client wanting work to one or more employment agencies which cooperate closely. Their wide knowledge of job possibilities combined with the United Prison Association's knowledge of the man's capacities and limitations combine to secure suitable employment for more than the 15 per cent shown in the table. With others, all that is necessary is to give the client a list of good employment offices, through which presumably they secure work, as they do not return for further assistance.

Under the category of "service" is included a variety of types of assistance hard to classify. One man is supplied with the tools necessary for him in his new job. Another needs help for he is in fear of attack by his sister; the sister's husband is in the Reformatory; her "boy friend" is on probation; the mother is on welfare; The client himself is on parole; while the client's girl wants him to marry her. Without some service from the United Prison Association in coordinating the efforts of the various agencies involved, in guiding the boy to avoid a battle with his sister, and to work more closely with his parole officer, the stage is set for an outbreak that would send the client back to Concord for a long term. Another

client on the verge of collapse after a heavy sentence for a detestible crime of which he proclaims his innocence, was given by friends a small bakery business. He wanted advice about the business. With many men, the need of carfare to a job is indicated.

One of the most important services given by the agency is referral to other agencies. Sometimes the problem is medical and the client is referred to the proper clinic. At other times the best plan worked out with the client indicates an application for WPA, NYA, CCC, Soldiers' Relief, Old Age Assistance, a veterans' home or some similar agency. That usually involves detailed investigation of eligibility and referral to the proper person at the proper office at the proper time. More recently, problems connected with the draft and possible enlistment in the government service have come to the fore.

Problems of arranging for a man to get on welfare are a problem in themselves, involving residence, settlement, identification and various other questions in which the client needs help.

The table shows that 30 per cent of the cases are referred to some other agency. This thirty per cent includes those who have been accepted as clients and does not include the many cases who are never accepted but referred directly to some other agency before acceptance at all by the United Prison Association.

Referrals are often made to Morgan Memorial or Hayden Goodwill Inn for cooperative treatment in which those agencies provide care or clothes or clinical study in return for work. The agency cooperates with Travelers Aid Society in returning men to distant homes when agreed upon.

Frequently other agencies are already involved in a related

problem. The wife of one of these men was receiving a grant under Aid to Dependent Children when her husband, a client of the United Prison Association, returned to her and the eight children after a term for assaulting her. One of the children was in Lyman School, another under the Division of Child Guardianship of the state Department of Public Welfare. The client's wife immediately upon his return would lose her generous allowance from Aid to Dependent Children, though eligible for the meagre welfare allowance until he secured a job. Should he return to her? Here were four or five agencies involved in the family situation, but the United Prison Association the only one interested in, or really understanding, the man's problem. After considerable consultation, the man was referred with his wife to the welfare visitor. Another man came from his imprisonment to find himself denied admission to his home and children, by his wife, represented by the Legal Aid Society. Consultation with that agency led to discovery that the Family Walfare Society visitor was familiar with the case and handling it competently; the man was referred to her. The number of similar cases and the complications among the agencies might be multiplied. An essential part of the case work is the referral of clients to other agencies for special service or to agencies already working in the situation.

Not listed at all above is another important form of service. It was omitted because it is extremely difficult to observe or to define, but it permeates all the case work,- that is, the value of the relationship itself between client and caseworker of the United Prison Association. This is intangible and perhaps exaggerated in importance, but it often seems the most important service rendered.

A large majority of clients have been shown to be without home

ties. They usually have no real friends, their acquaintances are likely to be among other offenders whom they do not trust. They feel rejected, friendless, suspicious, cynical, and often very insecure and fearful. To be treated respectfully, met as a friend, regarded as important, listened to earnestly by a man who is not trying to exploit him, does much to re-establish the offender's self respect and self confidence. When he learns further that the worker is not just "easy" or easily fooled, but understands him, perhaps better than the client understands himself, the client is likely to develop a relationship with the worker that in itself is a valuable therapeutic factor.

To classify the types of service given, is at best an artificial approach to the service given to men in need. The center of effort and interest is the client himself. It is very unlikely that he would starve to death if the United Prison Association did not exist. While important, the means of tangible assistance to the client are only the means and not the end. The focus of case work in the United Prison Association is the client himself, rather than his immediate needs. The man who has lost hope or is afraid, mentally or physically sick, is a threat to the community. The purpose of case work is to strengthen and support such individuals and guide them to the end that they may adjust as well as possible in the community rather than to follow antisocial behavior.

Success in this effort is not easily measured. One negative criterion often used in considering success in treating offenders is to investigate recidivism. This has been done for the 60 cases of our study. The number may not be complete as the records were not all rechecked at the time of this study, three months after the close of the period studied.

It must be remembered that only a year and a quarter at most had elapsed. The record of recidivism in cases since the initial contact with the United Prison Association is shown in the following:

TABLE XX

CASES OF RECIDIVISM

Institution	Offenses			
	Acquisitive	Drunk	Unknown	Total
State Prison	4			4
Mass. Reformatory	1		1	2
Houses of Correction	5	1		6
Unknown		1		1
Total	10	2	1	13

That 13 men, or 22 per cent of the 60 cases, were imprisoned for new offenses within a period averaging less than a year from the time of their first contact with the United Prison Association does not show that the treatment of the agency prevented recidivism. Perhaps it is more significant that 47 men, or 78 per cent, were successful in avoiding recidivism, as it has been shown that 77 per cent of the 60 men studied were habitual criminals.

It is noteworthy that ten of the 13 recidivists were convicted of acquisitive crimes, and two for drunkenness. This fact corresponds with the records of the more frequent repetitions of those two types of offenses when compared with others, as shown in previous studies. Only six of the offenses were serious enough to send the offender to a major institution.

As the work of the United Prison Association continues, it will be interesting to make periodic studies to discover possible changes in the

It must be remembered that only a few out of many have been mentioned. The number of deductions is almost three times the allowed number that can be made before reduction is carried out as follows:

TABLE 2

Loss of deductions

Deduction	Deduction Lost	Total
Late Filing	4	4
Non. Performing	2	2
Change of Formation	3	3
Missing	---	---
Total	9	9

There is another set of deductions that carry a far greater penalty for non-adherence called Essential Performance Item (EPI) that are the responsibility of each Section Officer. Each EPI is worth 10 points and the deduction is the penalty immediate reduction. Section 1.13 has a maximum total of 100 points. To see what each Section's EPI's are refer to Section 1.13 and see how they affect you. It is up to the Section Officer to ensure these points are not lost.

It is necessary that we do not lose points for unnecessary reasons. Many of these points are lost by Section Commanders. This fine Corps of ours has invested a lot of time, money and effort in training Section Commanders to be leaders of men. Section Commanders are those individuals who have been given the responsibility of leading men in the performance of their duties. Each section is responsible for its own discipline, dress, deportment, drill and turnout. Section Commanders are responsible for the discipline of their sections. Section Commanders are responsible for the discipline of their sections.

In the case of the Junior Ranks Competition Deductions of this responsibility is also entirely the responsibility of Section Commanders.

record of recidivism over a period of years, and to analyze it more carefully as to types. It is possible that such studies would also illuminate the prognosis of the different types of offenders.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

A study of an agency for discharged prisoners begins and ends with consideration of the prisoners themselves. This thesis has not shown them to be essentially different from an average group of men in this locality of the same ages. The principal difference seems to be in their asocial attitude indicated not only by their criminal activities but also by the large proportion who are unmarried or whose marriages have failed.

No one can have much to do with prisoners without wondering at the strange ways in which the wheels of justice turn. To the victim the situation seems grossly unfair. To the observer much of the legal and penal system appear to be anachronistic. Men are tried for criminal offenses and, if convicted, perhaps sentenced to prison. On what basis? Within very wide limits, sentences depend upon the "hunch" of a judge, wise in the law, but untrained in psychology or penology, who guesses about how long a sentence at an institution with which he is unfamiliar will best protect society from a man about whom he knows little.

What effort is made in a house of correction to correct a man's ways? The treatment consists of isolating him from his family and normal society to live in near idleness in the enforced society of other criminals. Nor is there much difference in the major institutions, except that some investigation is made of each man, and there is a better work and study program, while society is protected by higher walls until the offender is released. Eventually if he conforms in prison, and he is found a job and a home, the prisoner is released under the supervision of parole agents. But if he is considered a bad risk, after a longer interval he is discharged into a

strange and hostile world with no supervision whatever.

It is the responsibility of the United Prison Association to serve the exprisoner when the prison gate swings shut behind him. The facilities of the society are in fact available at the office at 51 Cornhill in Boston. If the exprisoner knows no one there, however, he is likely to avoid that office and anything suggesting prison.

Perhaps the United Prison Association should have already made contact with him, either while anticipating his release or at the time of release. The prisoner then could more easily go immediately upon release to the office of the United Prison Association to work out a plan of action with their help, assured in advance of meeting with friendly and understanding assistance.

Were this closer relationship arranged between the agency and the penal institutions, the United Prison Association might be informed in advance of prospective releases, would have opportunity to consult case records at the institution, and would see the man before his release. This working relationship would be established before the man was discharged, had spent his small funds fruitlessly, had failed to find friends or work, and then was forced to ask for a handout.

Such a plan would go far, too, to enable the United Prison Association to have a more adequate social case history of its clients, by providing for consulting in advance the case records of the Department of Correction. With much more comprehensive knowledge of the man, his family, his history, his mentality, and his health, the United Prison Association could assist the client more effectively than was possible with many of the 60 cases studied.

Implicit in the idea outlined above is a contact with prisoners before release. This service to men in prison might well be a definite function of the United Prison Association as of prison agencies in such states as Pennsylvania and New York. Even although the chaplains at the present time serve effectively, such a service to the prisoner by a privileged but unofficial agency is found not only invaluable in itself but also a better preparation for assisting the offender upon his release.

The research student finds the scanty information about the clients a handicap. This situation is not a criticism of the case records or of any of the policies of the Association. Much of the data, important from the statistical analysis point of view, may be superfluous from the point of view of casework treatment. With many of the clients obviously in need of immediate relief and unlikely to return for subsequent help, it may seem a waste of time and unnecessary probing of a sensitive man's past, to seek the background information from him. While that viewpoint may be sound, it still seems important to have a better factual background for treating the cases than is afforded by most of the 60 records studied.

With the general recognition today of the importance of early family relationships on a man's career, and the general abnormality of family and marriage relationships of the discharged offender indicated in this study, more background data in these files should lead to better case work. Likewise data about a man's mentality, his intelligence, psychopathic tendencies, as well as data about vocational aptitudes, would be extremely helpful in steering a man into satisfactory employment and social adjustments. Such data and a prognosis are available in the Department of Correction case history of prisoners discharged from our major institutions.

Similar data about Federal prisoners can be obtained from the United States Probation office.

With closer cooperation between the United Prison Association and the officials, as suggested above, by which the United Prison Association would know its prospective cases before release, that background data could be secured in advance to lay the groundwork for better informed, and, therefore better casework with these men from our major institutions.

Further data about these clients and those from other institutions are often available in the case records of the Central Application Bureau for Homeless and Transient Men, the Industrial Aid Society, Travelers Aid Society and other agencies. The proximity of the Industrial Aid Society results in much interchange of information with that agency. The inaccessability of the Central Application Bureau detracts from its potential usefulness as a central application bureau for single men. If that agency were located near the United Prison Association, Industrial Aid Society and the other agencies to whom it feeds it applicants, their case records and interview data might become intake interviews for the United Prison Association and the allied agencies.

At present an applicant at the United Prison Association is interviewed briefly to learn if he is new and if he is married. If married, he may be accepted at once or referred to a family agency. If new and unmarried, he is sent to the Central Application Bureau for registration. There he is interviewed again, and indexed with the Social Service Index. If he is a discharged prisoner eligible for the United Prison Association, he is referred back to that agency. Then he is interviewed for the third time before he gets any help.

This complicated and attenuated first contact irritates the applicant. He suspects that he is being "given the runaround". His confidential story may be given freely once, but by the time he comes back to the United Prison Association, it is likely to be difficult to extract, particularly as he begins to wonder if he is to get any help after all. Realizing the client's state of mind, the agency case worker tends to be satisfied with less information from the client than he would otherwise secure.

Another difficulty in the cooperative interchange of case data among the several agencies dealing with single men is that, while they all record about the same basic face-sheet data, each one scrambles the facts in a different arrangement. Could this agency, the Industrial Aid Society, Morgan Memorial, Salvation Army, Travelers Aid Society and perhaps a representative of the state Department of Public Welfare, merely agree with the Central Application Bureau of the Boston Council of Social Agencies upon a uniform order of data on face-sheets, an infinite amount of time might be saved all the agencies with a real gain in efficient cooperation. A copy of the Central Application Bureau face-sheet could then easily be the basis of the intake interview and face-sheet of the agency to which the client is referred by the Central Application Bureau. This coordinated procedure should result in improved case work with better information and decreased friction.

The relationships of the United Prison Association with the other social agencies are in general friendly and cooperative. There are two possible exceptions. As a general rule family agencies seem to hold that if an exconvict is married, the case is ipso facto a family problem for them, rather than a problem for the United Prison Association. No general rule,

perhaps, may be agreed upon, but to those working with prisoners it seems that the prisoner has often specialized problems better handled by a specially trained prison case worker than by a woman family case worker, tending to identify herself with the wife or children as against the man. Cooperative case work may often be indicated in such cases, with the United Prison Association helping the man; the family case worker, the wife and children.

The sharp distinction drawn between married and unmarried men in case work often seems artificial and meaningless among unstable clients who are too frequently separated from their wives and reconciled again for agencies to follow. That a man must be bounced back and forth between a family agency and a (single) man's agency as his unstable relationships with his wife ebb and flow, is absurd. His need of the prison agency may be greater when he assumes family responsibilities than in the intermittent periods when he has shed them.

Reference has already been made to the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners. That agency in the same building with the United Prison Association is friendly with it but uncooperative with all social agencies including the United Prison Association. It regards itself as a relief agency rather than a social agency. Its policy of giving relief with only casual investigation and without registration with the Social Service Index or Central Application Bureau, opens the door to duplication of aid to clients and seriously impedes general acceptance of the ideal of aid to prisoners as social case work, not as a handout procedure.

Some combination of the work and resources of the two prison associations might provide a much better and more comprehensive work with prisoners than can the two agencies separately. The income of the Massa-

chusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners for the last year available (1938) as given in the Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare[1] was $6641., with expenditures for relief of only $1615.20[2]. That income of $6641. if added to that of the United Prison Association would provide for a greatly expanded work with prisoners.

The advantages of such a merging of effort are so obvious, the need so great, that a determined effort should be made to effect it. In the absence of any obstacles other than sentiment, the United Prison Association might well study the situation carefully, with the individuals involved, as it would a case situation, and proceed with a carefully planned campaign toward arranging some combination of the two prison agencies.

The subject of cooperation, coordination, and merging of agencies, raises the question of justification for a separate agency for work with prisoners. There are several factors to be considered: A general objection may be offered to dividing social case-work into many separate agencies, each with its own overhead, case records and limitations, adding to the "red tape" in trying to help clients. The more these agencies are coordinated and combined, the greater the efficiency, the less the duplication of offices, of staff, of records, and of competing "causes." On the other hand, it has often been found that people will more willingly support a special service than a big, efficient, but impersonal organization.

It is also true that the work with individual clients is clearly

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1 The Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare for the Year Ending November 30, 1938. p.94.

2 Boston Council of Social Agencies, Bureau of Research and Studies. Resources in Boston For Aiding Discharged Prisoners, Boston: March 1938. p. 5.

allied to the need for education and promotion of a better criminal-penal system, a movement in which a prison agency naturally takes a leading part.

Actually, experience in other states has demonstrated that better service to prisoners has been given where there is a separate agency for the purpose. Where the best prison work is being done, as in New York Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland, there are separate agencies to do it. Work with prisoners is a specialized service, requiring specially trained workers, a principle often overlooked if prison work is merged in a more general agency.

Although the question is not now an active one, it should be suggested that, in the gradual development of a better community organization of social service, the work of the United Prison Association might eventually be better done as a distinctly separate department of a more inclusive social agency working with prisoners while incarcerated and later.

Another area of study for the United Prison Association is the county institutions which have no case records of their inmates; are not interested in training them for a normal life, and merely discharge the prisoners when their sentences expire, without regard to where they are to go or what they will do. Many of these men need social service far more than those paroled from the state institutions.

From the viewpoint of crime prevention, too, the men in the county institutions are important. Our study has pointed to these institutions as the school from which our major offenders come. It is logical to believe that more intensive work with the younger offenders released from such institutions as Suffolk County House of Correction at Deer Island and Charles Street Jail, might be effective in reducing the proportion of their inmates

who progress to bigger crime.

Any study of the United Prison Association must be convincing of the essential character of its work,not merely as humanitarian service to men desperately needing specialized, understanding help, but more as a protection to the community in diverting men from criminal careers to socially acceptable living. This service in some form is indispensible.

Within the first year of its existance the United Prison Association has organized an effective work with exprisoners as has been demonstrated by this study of 60 random cases selected. More and more discharged prisoners seek it out as a matter of course, while correctional officials turn to it for expert assistance in their more difficult cases. It has also continued with increasing success the work with women offenders at the Reformatory for Women, begun by the Friends of Prisoners, Inc., and has assumed the lead in education and promotion for a better correctional system. Although not under the Boston Community Fund, the Association has won an important place among the agencies of the Boston Council of Social Agencies.

Its achievements, however, obligate the Association to broaden and perfect the social case work with men prisoners which has been the subject of study of this thesis. Various detailed suggestions and recommendations for further study in this area may be summarized as follows:

1. The agency could improve the effectiveness of its case work by seeing the prisoners at, or before, release.

2. It might arrange to serve the prisoners while still in prison.

3. It could advantageously secure data about probable clients in anticipation of helping them upon release.

4. A closer cooperation and coordination between the agency,

and the penal and correctional officials would be advantageous.

5. Closer coordination with the Central Application Bureau, and other agencies dealing with men should be sought to improve case record data, decrease duplication of effort and interviews, and for generally improved effectiveness.

6. Specifically an effort should be made for a merging of effort with the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners.

7. An eventual merging of prison work as an autonomous department in a larger social case work agency should be considered, as unnecessary now, but perhaps indicated in the future.

8. In so far as resources are available, the agency should develop its work with men in the houses of correction and jails, especially with the younger offenders who are potentially major offenders.

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